



Republican Policy Committee

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A Tale of Two Senates

Things have changed in Washington. With Republican control of Congress, it has become fashionable lately to ignore the fundamentals of that change by focusing merely on the present, without taking time to appreciate the real differences between a Congress under Democratic control and one led by Republicans. Republicans have nearly completed the first 100 days of the first Republican Congress to convene in 40 years — and what a difference from the first 100 days of the Democratic Congress that convened just two years ago.

For Americans worried about out-of-control deficit spending and bigger government that provides fewer solutions, Democratic control of the legislative and executive branches of government in 1993 was surely the worst of times. Two years later, the now Republican-controlled Congress is working hard to make these the best of times for all those who voted to put an end to business as usual in government. The following is a comparison between Democratic and Republican achievements in the Senate during the first 100 days of the 104th Congress, and the first 100 days of 1993 — Clinton's first year in office.

Line-Item Veto

1995, The Best of Times:

- **The new Republican Senate gives the President the line-item veto authority that 85 percent of Americans support, but decades of Democrat control of Congress had made impossible. (March 23, 1995, Vote No. 115, adopted 69-29; 27 Democrats voted in opposition)**

1993, The Worst of Times:

- **Senate Democrats defeated a Republican proposal to give President Clinton the line-item veto he asked for (and promised to use) in his campaign manifesto, *Putting People First*. The GOP amendment would have held President Clinton to his campaign promise of cutting \$9.8 billion (over four years) in pork spending through use of the line-item veto. Almost unbelievably, Senate Democrats on the very same**

day voted in large numbers in support of two sense of the Senate line-item veto amendments. When it came to making the line-item veto a reality, however, Senate Democrats voted overwhelmingly (all but two of them) against the line-item veto. (March 25, 1993, vote No. 80, tabled 57-42; 54 Democrats voted to table)

The Deficit

1995, The Best of Times:

- **The new Republican Senate proposes a balanced budget constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget by the year 2002. After a solid month of filibustering and posturing, 70 percent of Senate Democrats voted against the BBA and final passage failed by just one vote. Six of the Democrats who voted against the BBA had voted in favor of a balanced budget amendment prior to the election in 1994. (March 2, 1995, Vote No. 98, rejected 65-35; 33 Democrats voted in opposition to the BBA)**

1993, The Worst of Times:

- **Senate Democrats defeated a Republican attempt to freeze for one year the salaries of federal employees and Members of Congress, a solid, 100-percent party-line vote. The one-year freeze would have saved \$2.7 billion to help offset the costs of extending unemployment benefits. (March 3, 1993, Vote No. 23, tabled 58-41; 56 Democrats voted to table)**
- **Senate Democrats defeated a Republican proposal to freeze nondefense discretionary spending at FY 93 levels for five years FY94-FY98. (March 19, 1993, Vote No. 42, tabled 54-42; 50 Democrats voted to table)**
- **Senate Democrats defeated a Republican budget alternative that would have reduced the deficit by \$460 billion over five years by freezing government spending instead of raising taxes. By contrast, the Clinton budget provided \$458 billion in deficit reduction by imposing tax increases (\$313 billion) and deep defense cuts (\$122 billion). Every Senate Democrat except one (who is now a Senate Republican) voted against the spending freeze in favor of the Clinton tax hikes and defense cuts. (March 24, 1993, Vote No. 60, rejected 42-57; 55 Democrats voted against the GOP alternative)**
- **All but five Senate Democrats defeated an attempt by a fellow Democrat (Senator Nunn) to put the brakes on out-of-control entitlement spending. The Nunn sense of Congress amendment would have capped mandatory spending (except Social Security) beginning in FY 1996. The caps would have allowed for increases in inflation plus increases in program case**

loads, plus 1-percent in FY96-FY97. A three-fifths vote would be required to exceed the caps, and Congress would be prohibited from shifting the cost of entitlements to the states. (March 24, 1993, Vote No. 65, tabled 51-47; 50 Democrats voted to table)

- Senate Democrats passed a Clinton budget that raised taxes, gutted defense, and made long-term deficit spending official government policy. (March 25 and April 1, 1993, Vote Nos. 83 and 94, passed 54-45 and 55-45; 54 Democrats and 55 Democrats, respectively)

Spending

1995, The Best of Times:

- The new Republican Senate passes a committee funding resolution that cuts committee spending 13.4 percent below last year's spending level. The resolution also authorized 20 percent fewer committee staff positions than last year. (February 13, 1995, Vote No. 64, adopted 91-2)

1993, The Worst of Times:

- Senate Democrats defeated a Republican attempt to cut \$3.3 billion in government overhead on a solid, 100-percent party-line vote. The proposed rescission in government administrative expenses (i.e., red tape, bureaucracy, etc.) would have gone to pay for an extension of unemployment benefits. Instead, the Democrats voted to add the \$3.3 billion to the deficit. (March 3, 1993, Vote No. 21, tabled 57-43; 57 Democrats voted to table)
- Senate Democrats (all of them except three, one of whom is now a Republican Senator) voted against a Republican attempt to kill President Clinton's \$73 billion (CBO estimate) energy tax. All 43 Republican Senators voted to kill the BTU tax and replace the estimated \$73 billion in revenue with a \$73 billion spending cut. By adding 8 cents to the price of a gallon of gas or diesel, the proposed Clinton BTU tax targeted western and southern states for the hardest hits. The National Association of Manufacturers estimated that 600,000 jobs would be lost nationwide if the tax were imposed. (March 18, 1993, Vote No. 40, rejected 46-53; 53 Democrats voted against cutting the tax)
- Senate Democrats voted to kill a Republican proposal to repeal the Clinton Social Security tax hike. The Clinton budget for FY94-FY98 included an increase in the portion of earnings subject to income taxes from 50 percent to 85 percent for jointly filing seniors earning over \$32,000, and single senior taxpayers earning over \$25,000. All Senate Republicans voted to strike the tax hike, all but four Senate Democrats voted to keep it. (March 24, 1993, Vote No. 57, tabled 52-47; 52 Democrats voted to table)

- **Senate Democrats (all except one, who is now a Senate Republican) defeated a Republican attempt to cut \$206 billion in tax hikes (over five years) contained in the Clinton budget. (March 24, 1993, Vote No. 59, tabled 55-44; 55 Democrats voted to table)**
- **Senate Democrats defeated a Republican attempt to eliminate the Clinton \$648 million surtax on home heating oil. Elimination of the tax would have been offset by a proportionate cut in government overhead expenses. (March 24, 1993, Vote No. 70, tabled 52-46; 52 Democrats voted to table)**

Supplemental Appropriations

1995, The Best of Times:

- **The new Republican Senate passes a defense supplemental bill that actually reduced the deficit by \$1.5 billion. President Clinton's supplemental request, predictably, would have added another \$2.2 billion to the deficit. (March 16, 1995, Vote No. 108, adopted 97-3, 3 Democrats voted in opposition)**
- **The new Republican Senate produces an emergency relief bill for victims of widespread flooding in California. Once again, the Senate bill not only provides emergency funding, but will reduce the deficit in the process. As reported, the Senate bill matches President Clinton's request of \$6.7 billion for FEMA disaster relief efforts, but also cuts \$13.3 billion in government spending for total deficit reduction of \$6.6 billion. (Note: passage of H.R. 1158, The FY 1995 Emergency Supplemental, was still pending in the Senate as of the date of this publication.)**

1993, The Worst of Times:

- **During a futile attempt to convince Americans that pork and political payoffs actually constituted "emergency funding," or "priority investment," Senate Democrats (between March 29 and April 1, 1993) voted as follows: against cutting \$103 million for "emergency" swimming pools, golf courses, tennis courts, etc. (Vote Nos. 84 and 86); against cutting \$2.4 billion in "emergency" Community Development Block Grants which did not address any real emergencies (Vote No. 87); against cutting \$144 million in CDBG funds and \$52 million in "highway" trust funds destined to be spent on those same emergency swimming pools, jogging paths, boat houses, etc. (Vote No. 89); against striking the phony "emergency" designation of \$6 billion in make-work and pork spending contained in the Clinton "Stimulus bill" (Vote Nos. 90 and 96); and against cutting \$23.5 million in "emergency" spending to help corporations install energy-efficient light bulbs, and to promote the profitable use of methane gas recaptured from pipelines and cows (Vote No. 95).**

Small Businesses, Farms

1995, The Best of Times:

- **The new Republican Senate restores (and increases for future years) and makes permanent a health care tax deduction for three million self-employed business owners and farmers. (conference report passed April 3, 1995; by voice vote)**

1993, The Worst of Times:

- **Senate Democrats voted to defeat a Republican proposal stating that the Senate should not pass a budget resolution which would tax small businesses, family farms, and family ranches at rates which would exceed the highest corporate tax rate. (March 23, 1993, Vote No. 55, tabled 52-47; 52 Democrats voted to table)**
- **Senate Democrats defeat a Republican attempt to exempt farmers from the Clinton energy tax. The tax on gas and diesel hit America's farmers the hardest by adding an extra \$2.5 billion (over five years) to the costs of farming. The \$2.5 billion exemption for off-road gas and diesel use would have been offset by a proportionate cut in the increased spending contained in the Clinton budget. (March 24, 1993, Vote No. 66, tabled 54-44; 54 Democrats voted to table)**
- **Senate Democrats defeated a Republican attempt to protect small businesses and family farms from the Clinton \$56.2 billion (over five years) increase in the marginal individual income tax rate. Elimination of the higher income tax rate for proprietorships, partnerships, and Subchapter S corporations would have been offset by a proportionate cut in new spending contained in the Clinton budget. (March 25, 1993, Vote No. 79, tabled 54-45; 54 Democrats voted to table)**

Big Government

1995, The Best of Times:

- **The new Republican Senate holds itself accountable to the same laws it imposes on other Americans. Prior to the 104th Congress, the prevailing attitude in the Nation's legislature seemed to be "Do as we say, not as we do." That has all ended with Congress under new management. Congress will now get firsthand experience living under the laws it passes — a mandate on Congress from Congress for a change. The Congressional Accountability Act, extends 11 major civil rights and labor laws to the operations of Congress and its instrumentalities. (January 11, 1995, Vote No. 14, 98-1; one Dem voted in opposition)**

- **The new Republican Senate rolls back the tide of useless and costly paperwork requirements flowing out of Washington.** According to the Small Business Administration, compliance with federal paperwork requirements costs U.S. business \$100 billion and consumes a billion man hours each year. According to all 54 Senate Republicans, that is unacceptable. The Paperwork Reduction Act provides for strict enforcement of efforts to reduce the federal paperwork burden by 5 percent annually. (March 7, 1995, Vote No. 100, adopted 99-0)
- **The new Republican Senate provides a measure of relief to honest Americans in communities across the country that are virtually under siege from bureaucratic zealots with too much power and too little common sense.** Specifically, a Republican-sponsored amendment in the Senate took direct aim at regulatory overkill with respect to the EPA's endangered species list. Examples of regulatory abuse include a California farmer who was arrested and faces a fine of \$300,000 and a year in prison because he may have accidentally run over a Tipton kangaroo rat. (March 16, 1995, Hutchison amendment to H.R. 889, Vote Nos. 106 and 107; subsequently adopted by voice vote)

1993, The Worst of Times:

- **Senate Democrats defeated a Republican proposal to cut the amount of money Congress spends on itself by 25 percent (i.e., \$2.2 billion) in FY 1994.** (March 25, 1993; Vote No. 77, tabled 56-43; 54 Democrats voted to table)

States' Rights

1995, The Best of Times:

- **The new Republican Senate passes legislation to give financially strapped state and local governments a much needed break.** Why should states have to pay the full costs of federal rules and regulations they never wanted and never asked for? The 104th Congress has finally given the right answer to this question: "They shouldn't have to pay." If Congress so desperately feels the need to impose mandates on the states, Congress should provide adequate funding to help states implement them. The Unfunded Mandates bill passed the Senate with overwhelming support, only 9 Senate Democrats opposed it on final passage. (January 27, 1995; Vote Nos. 61 and 104, votes were 86-10 and 91-9; 10 Democrats and 9 Democrats, respectively, voted no)

1993, The Worst of Times:

- **March 11, 1993, Senate Democrats defeated a Republican amendment to require the federal government to pay for the mandates contained in the Motor Voter bill. With only one exception (Senator Boren has since retired), Senate Democrats voted instead to pass the costs of their bill (at least \$200 million over five years) on to states already swamped with federal mandates they never asked for and couldn't afford. (March 11, 1993, Vote No. 31, tabled 53-43; 53 Democrats voted to table)**
- **Senate Democrats defeated a Republican effort to stop the Clinton Administration's war on the West. The GOP proposal would have repealed Clinton's 33-percent hike in grazing fees, \$245 million hike in park fees, and a 12.5 percent gross royalty on all minerals mined on federal lands. (March 23, 1993, Vote No. 48, tabled 59-40; 54 Democrats voted to table)**
- **Senate Democrats defeated a Republican attempt to soften the impact of a keenly targeted, anti-West Clinton initiative: a \$577 million (CBO, five-year estimate; OMB estimated \$1.2 billion) tax on hard-rock mining. Again, the tax cut would have been offset by a proportionate reduction in new spending. (March 25, 1993, Vote No. 81, tabled 61-38; 54 Democrats voted to table)**

Defense

1995, The Best of Times:

- **The new Republican Senate passes a defense supplemental funding bill that prioritized military spending without adding billions of dollars to the deficit. Predictably, President Clinton, after cutting defense far deeper than he promised, sent the 104th Congress a supplemental request that would have added over \$2 billion to the deficit. The bulk of the funding in the Senate bill, \$1.78 billion, went to pay for "unplanned" operations (i.e., Clinton "peacekeeping," "nation building," etc.) in Bosnia, Rwanda, Haiti, and Somalia. It should be pointed out, however, that re-prioritizing President Clinton's military budget for these very reasons was something Senate Republicans tried to do two years ago (see second bullet below). (March 16, 1995, Vote No. 108, adopted 97-3; 3 Democrats voted in opposition)**

1993, The Worst of Times:

- **Senate Democrats voted to help President Clinton break his campaign promise on defense cuts. During the 1992 campaign, President Clinton promised to cut \$110 billion in defense spending over five years. Once elected, President Clinton proposed a \$174 billion cut in his FY 94 budget. (March 23, 1993, Vote No. 50, tabled 58-41; 52 Democrats voted to table)**
- **Senate Democrats defeat a Republican attempt to guarantee a safe measure of military preparedness against the deeper than promised Clinton defense cuts. Specifically, the GOP proposal was a sense of the Senate amendment stating that Congress should reconsider the Clinton defense budget with reference to possible threats posed by North Korea, Russia, Bosnia, and others. (Despite the fact that Clinton himself subsequently revised the defense budget in light of these same contingencies, Senate Democrats refused to see the handwriting on the wall and voted overwhelmingly against the mere suggestion that perhaps Congress should take a second look at the Clinton policy for our Nation's defense.) (March 24, 1993, Vote No. 71, tabled 50-48; 50 Democrats voted to table)**
- **Senate Democrats defeat a Republican proposal to restore cost-of-living adjustments for those in the military. The Clinton budget squeezed \$11 billion (over five years) in budget savings out of the defense department by freezing military pay and denying military personnel future cost-of-living adjustments. (March 24, 1993; Vote No. 73, tabled 55-42; 53 Democrats voted to table)**

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